

GOOD SENSE:

ADDRESSED TO THE

BRITISH NATION,

AS THEIR PRE-EMINENT AND PECULIAR CHARACTERISTIC,

IN THE

PRESENT AWFUL CRISIS,

OR

WAR OF SOCIAL EXISTENCE.

EXHIBITING THE

ACTUAL AND EVENTFUL STATE OF VARIOUS NATIONS.

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P R E F A C E.

WHOEVER could accurately and determinately define the quality of Good Sense, would render the same benefit to happiness as the discoverer of the Compass has to Commerce. I shall here endeavour only to discover some of its elements, with which the moral artist of future ages may construct the perfect Machine, while my instructions may serve to form a temporary approximator.

Good Sense is that operative energy of cogitation, which, in its examination of objects, looks back on past ages, to find Experience, and judge of Cause; looks round to all possible relations,

lations, to find comparison, and judge of Theory and Predicament; and looks forward to future ages, to find Analogy, and determine Consequence or Effect. Good Sense is that quality that discriminates Means from Ends, and Rules from Principles, whose goal of operation is formed by the following axioms--*To effect the greatest possible good by the least possible evil—to hold end and principle immutable in theory, and rule and means pliable in predicament, e. g.* It is an immutable principle, that the parent must preserve the life of his child; but pliable rule permits him to inoculate it. It is an immutable principle, that the magistrate must preserve the safety of the State; but the flexibility of rule and means permits him to violate the Constitution, if predicament requires it, as the least possible evil mean to effect the end, or public safety.

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The criterion of progressive Good Sense is marked on the scale of ends and means. The end of Common Sense is but mean to refined sense; and the end of refined sense is but the mean of good sense. e.g. The Merchant, or man of common sense, makes commerce the end of public good.* The Minister, or man of refined sense, makes it but the mean, and public prosperity his end. The Philosopher, or man of good sense, makes the end of the Minister, [the prosperity of his nation] but the mean of his end, the good of all mankind. The Philanthropist moving progressively on the scale of good sense to the index of self knowledge, or manhood, makes the

* This is exemplified by an ignorant Petition from the town of Norwich, on the impending late Russian War, to secure the course of their partial commerce, separated from the general interest of the country.

the end of the Philosopher his mean
to procure universal good, or univer-
sal truth, to all existence, in unity of
co-eternal essence, co-eternal energy,
and co-eternal interest.



GOOD SENSE,

&c. &c.

THE present epocha has furnished various examples of the power of individual writers to create and assimilate a community of sentiment, producing a vigorous and simultaneous action in the great mass of a nation. A pamphlet called COMMON SENSE, seduced America to a disastrous separation from its metropolitan empire, (cutting the scion from its parent stock, before it had acquired its full sap) which I have no doubt to demonstrate in the succeeding pages, whilst my arguments will not fail to be illustrated by the imminent

Jacobinical Revolution which now threatens that precocious Republic.

The French Journalists, HEBERT and MARAT, produced in France that intoxicating spirit of Jacobinism, upon which the present ephemeral and bloody despotism of ROBESPIERE is founded, whose period will soon be closed by a more desperate and durable anarchy; terminating in some transient despotism, such alternity of confusion and horror will become the defence of foreign nations, and the remedy of its own domestic calamity.

A pamphlet called the RIGHTS of MAN has intoxicated the irreflective part of the British community, and poisoned the minds of the plebean inhabitants of great cities, instigating them to tumultuous action, by theoretic doctrines, calculated for
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the perfectability, and not the predicament of Civil Society.

The task of these seductive writers has been as efficient as it has been easy: they sought only to roll down the mountain of civil society, the stone of licentious liberty; they performed this enterprize with wit, and with the artifice of eloquence; they blinded the guardian reason that passion, escaping from its prison, might aberrate in the wide field of its unrestrained propensities.

To roll up again the descending stone of licentious liberty, and replace it on the mountain of System, is the arduous task I now propose, in the following Essay. As history presents no precedent of success in writings, calculated to check the torrent of popular phrenzy, I must survey my means, by which the public may be enabled to
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form the presage of their effects, and anticipate either hope or despair.

Hic labor, hoc opus est.

I have travelled over the most interesting parts of the globe, to study mankind, and to discover the source of moral action and moral truth. I have lived in habits of intimacy with all nations, by which I have acquired that moral euchrasis, divested of all pecuniary egotistical interest ; all influence of vanity or fame ; all partial attachment of country ; all irrefragable habitude of associated ideas. *Conscious of the Unity of Self and Nature ; that Virtue is nothing but the identification of individual and universal good in time and eternity ; that Wisdom is the knowledge of Self, and its relations with the integer of existence,* my mind is as strong and pure to conceive, as my language is simple, candid, and
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energetic to express those philontophic * and instructive ideas, which may conciliate the great mass of mankind to support the inequalities of condition, as the efficient and only means of general happiness, or universal good. And I fear, the imminent Jacobinical Revolutions in all parts of the world, keeping pace with my writings, will so powerfully illustrate their doctrines, that with all moral certitude I hope to succeed in replacing the stone of descending licentious liberty, (while anarchy itself in recoiling horror shall clear the way) upon the summit of the mountain of Social System, by manifesting to all ranks of mankind the following incontrovertible truths :

That civil power, adapted to the progress of civil knowledge, is the only matrix of human perfectability.

That

* Philontophy means the love of all Nature.

That no evil, of whatever magnitude, of systematic government can equal the calamity of popular discord, on the revolutionary assumption of active sovereignty, by the great mass of an unqualified population.

I shall enter upon my herculean labour with a general and analytical review of the political state of all civilized nations, and thence form my instructive conclusion and reflections, to arrest the dangerous progress of Jacobinism, and thereby preserve the existence, and prepare the perfectability of social life.

ENGLAND.

I bring this country first under review, because of its moral and political excellence over all other nations. I will not appeal to the evidence of all celebrated authors,

thors, foreign and domestic, but I will expose its present free, peaceful, and prosperous state as an illustrative instance out of the reach of controversy.

In the midst of a most disastrous war of principle and sentiment which is shaking the social system to its very foundation over all Europe, England has strengthened its doric fabric of civil power, encreased its maritime domains, augmented its credit, hired half the Continent of Europe to fight in the general cause of social life, presided over their councils to prevent political jealousy, which, in alliance with jacobinical anarchy, threatened the dissolution of civil society. Her trading vessels cover the ocean, and meet every where respect and freedom. Her commercial enterprize, promising to unite the globe into one great confederacy, by an universal commercial dependence, and all these achieve-

chievements are performed by the common and habitual energy of the public will ; while the individual, in his domestic domain, seems to possess all the freedom of the most independent republican.

O Fortunati nimium sua si bona norint !

England, impelled by its moral excellencies of sensibility and thought, to foresee the most imminent convulsions in the general state of civilization, if the present French Anarchy should increase, has stood forth the gigantic champion of the social system ; and while it is engaged in the generous contest, some of the most contemptible nations in Europe attempt to pilfer its commercial benefits ; resembling those atrocious scenes of robbery, which too often disgrace the streets and police of London, viz. a gentleman of high feeling and protective honour, viewing the ferocious

cious bully assault a peaceful passenger, proposes to box in his defence: having stript off his cloaths, and triumphantly avenged the cause of innocence, he looks about for his pillaged property, while the surrounding croud of pick-pockets hustle the victor, and with pretextual complaints of his having elbowed them, and trod upon their toes, they empty the contents of his breeches pockets.*

The public will in England, as in all free and constituted Governments, has had

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* The selfish conduct of America, Sweden, and Denmark, in the present war of civil society, is strongly pourtrayed in the above similitude. America employs her ships to carry on the West India Trade for France. Sweden supplies it with naval stores, and Denmark, allied with the former, in a Manifesto declaring the present War a common War of nations, demands the rights of neutrality to furnish subsistence to the Anarchists of France, [avowed enemies of the social system] and to separate herself from the general interests of Europe.

its arm of power arrested by the factious and irreflective part of the community; but the thoughtful character of the very great majority of its inhabitants having formed the quadruple alliance of good sense, patriotism, property, and power, a reciprocal and loyal confidence has been established between the king and the people; the latter have deposited their rights upon the throne, and the king, in return, has delivered his sceptre into the hands of an armed yeomanry; which transaction, of pledged fidelity, has put a gag into the mouth of Faction, which now can only mutter the unmeaning words, in faltering accents—Al—arm, Ty—ran—ny, which has ceased to operate, or excite to sedition only the very dregs of an irreflective populace.

FRANCE

FRANCE.

It is impossible to depict any identity of condition for this devoted country. In reading the reports of the Committees, the speeches of Robespierre, and the addresses of the revolutionary authorities, we may observe the most dreadful anarchy of sentiment, overawed by an incomprehensible unity of power. Terror is so universal, that the most trivial orders are supported by fear of the guillotine. Even the enthusiasm of the armies, though perpetually inflamed by the incessant hostility of dangerous and inveterate enemies, receives a very great proportion of influence from that powerful State Engine, which no monster of tyranny ever dared to bring into operation, till the anarchy of French folly and French turpitude appeared.

As it is not possible to discriminate, or mark the political predicament of France, I shall adventure a conjecture, respecting the propensities of the various factions, or their leaders. Robespierre, endowed with great sagacity, with a pecuniary disinterestedness that had passed every trial, [wanting, like every Frenchman, thought and sensibility] proceeded, with uncommon consistency, through the whole progress of the Revolution. He understands well the dissimulative intriguing character of his nation, and finds it necessary to oppose all settlement of system, by a conduct of expediency, supported by popular impulsion, which he flatters himself to be able to guide.

The violent measures of his expediency, in contention with the artifices of faction, have so outraged the natural propensities and habitudes of the people at large, that
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the various parties seem to have formed an universal league, which cannot fail to overwhelm Roberspierre and his plebean supporters. When this man of popular confidence shall have met the fate of his own victims, the anarchy of intrigue will range in an unbounded field ; as there is not at present, in all France, one single individual who possesses that popular confidence necessary to maintain a government of expediency, and I pronounce all government of system, in the present condition of France, impossible.

The desire of plunder, and the fury of contention, may preserve the hostile activity and aggregation of the armies, well paid, well supplied, and intoxicated with voluptuousness and licentiousness ; but no suspected, despised civil power, however armed with terror, can maintain the present inverted state of society, where
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the Philosopher is transformed into a Carter; the Carter a Legislator; the Landholder a Labourer; the Priest a Soldier; putting body and mind in requisition : the former to perform all offices, however inhabitual; the latter to adopt all opinions, however erroneous, uttered by a temporary and ferocious Committee of Despots.

The chaos of opinion is at length consummated; the whole vocabulary of denominations, terminating with ans, isms, and ists, has been exhausted—as Feuillans, Federatists, Moderatists, &c. &c. &c. Parties now must assume their titles, from the proper names of their leaders, and the National Assembly must furnish the vocabulary, till some general explosion shall scatter its leaves into fœderal departments, and from thence into depopulated villages, imploring the protection of neighbouring nations to save them from the abyss of anarchy.

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If such is to be the destiny of this unhappy country, O may the event be accelerated! that surrounding nations may receive an early and impressive lesson on the horrors of all popular Revolutions; that the fascinating sounds of unmodified Liberty and Equality may no longer seduce the irreflective citizen, like the dog in the fable, to throw away his bone for a shadow; but teach him, that in all public convulsions, the dependant on industry must be the first victim.

D E N M A R K.

This country, without even the shadow of power, has contrived, by its apparent humility and insignificance, to conciliate the powerful States of Europe to the payment of a most unjust, vexatious tribute, for the liberty of navigating the great
ocean;

ocean, and even that part of it which forms their own domains.

This ænigma or mystery of power, derived from weakness, is attempted to be explained by some writers, who suspect the different crowned heads in Europe of receiving bribes from Denmark to permit this audacious plunder of their commercial subjects, and to apologize for the insult offered to their personal sovereignty.

This mysterious tribute forming a most opulent source of Danish revenue, removes all mystery from the policy of its Cabinet, and develops the nature of its present selfish and dangerous neutrality. The pigmy lord paramount of the Northern Ocean, in hopes that the Hydra of French Anarchy will mutilate the members of its neighbouring gigantic tributaries, carries on a coadjutory commerce
with

with France, and duped by its gain, as the Miser by his avarice, they keep an open shop in the conflagration of the street; and the momentary throng of customers and profit will seduce them from removal, till it is too late to escape the common destiny of the neighbourhood.

Quem vult perdere Fata prius dementat.

It is stupendously unaccountable, that the Anarchy of France should meet, either publicly or privately, one single coadjutor or ally; having repeatedly declared an incessant and invincible hostility against all constituted [which they call] aristocratic governments. The Powers of Europe still continue their old political jealousies, and operate to increase their personal power and domain; by which means they furnish new inlets for the Jacobin Hydra, crouching in ambush, to seize upon all forms of civilization as its determined prey.

The Cabinet of Denmark is directed by a young Prince, active, vain, enterprising, fond of innovation. I would advise him, and all crowned heads disposed to innovation, to take a lesson from the example of Louis XVI. who called his subjects to participate his power, before instruction had prepared a nation of slaves for civic knowledge or civic virtue. This young Dane has now submitted the public expenditure to public examination: this cannot fail to produce public sentence, and ultimately the execution of that sentence by the will of the people.

Let me recommend to your Highness to direct all your innovations to the improvement of the public mind, by a liberal Press, controuled by a Committee of Censors, whose duty should be to protect all temperate discussion, exciting to thought, and to suppress every thing inflammatory

to action. Let your reforms be confined totally to the administration of government, and to support with jealousy the sanctity of its power, as the only medium of progressive civilization.

S W E D E N.

The Hydra of French Anarchy has been crouching, and making frequent and sudden assaults in this polar country, where nature seemed to have transplanted a species of Civil or British Liberty. The Regent, a man of liberal, but irreflective mind, has shewn too great a propensity to the modern spirit of innovation, and has inclined to a participation of sovereign with subordinate authority. The Liberty of the Press was let loose like a torrent upon the public mind, and Jacobinism seized the occasion to poison the stream with such noxious matter, that I fear the

political constitution has not stamina enough to purge off, and recover its former convalescence. Why were not Censors appointed to guard the Press? The punishment of law can only uselessly revenge, but not impede the danger of inflammatory doctrines.

The Cabinet of Sweden has been seduced into neutral policy, by the jealousy of Crowned Ambition, with which all states have but too much reason to be infected, and yet when placed in comparison with plebeian insurrection, it becomes a drop of evil in one scale, against an ocean of evil in the other. What calamity would Sweden feel, or Denmark suffer, if Finland was usurped by Russia, or the Baltic tribute annulled? But if French Anarchy should prevail, the king would lose his crown, the peasant his crust, and all ranks,
interests,

interests, and existences, would be involved in one moral chaos or social dissolution.

If Sweden, like Denmark, is seduced equally by a temporary commercial profit, what will be the duration of commerce? If France should be able, by the aid of unfeeling smuggling nations, to support a new system of military government, capable to wage a foreign war in the midst of domestic carnage and discord, the seas must be infested with a piracy, and the land with a convulsion of a nature to annihilate the very existence of all commercial intercourse.

Sweden, like many other countries, has had a most dangerous admonition in its own domestic convulsions and discord; and yet she continues to supply with aliment the great source of French Jacobinism, and I fear the infatuation of small States,

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to make a common cause with that fraternization, whose embrace will be the fatal hug of the ravenous bear, should not the dangerous doctrines of unmodified Liberty and Equality read an irresistible lesson in the desolation of France, Geneva, Brabant, and America, where they have been admitted, and made some progress in blood and plunder, whose horrors, I fear, have but yet appeared in their dawn; its meridian horror must fill the hemisphere of the whole world with its blaze, ere the phrenzy of natural Liberty and Equality shall be expelled from the irreflective and plebeian mind.

RUSSIA.

THIS country, governed by a sagacious and benevolent Princess, is too far removed from the present source of Anarchy, to feel a very stimulating impulse to oppose

oppose its progress. The sudden, though tranquil Revolution of Poland, this Empress most prophetically foresaw, would not fail to end in the most outrageous anarchy, which her own peace and safety called upon her to extirpate; an event which must soon take place. I have travelled over the most populous parts of Russia, and have every where seen the marks of civil power devising and executing the only safe means of political and social perfectability—*instruction* of the great mass of population.

I have also marked with regret, that the liberal mind of the Empress has been subject to that great mistake in policy, viz. generalizing the administration of justice by participating its authority amongst the people. This can never be done with safety, till the public mind has arrived at the acmé of civic knowledge.

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The condition of the peasantry has been wisely and temperately meliorated to that degree, upon the scale of contending interests, till the jealousy of the nobles arrested her beneficent will, and left the index of her power the criterion of public justice and national prosperity.

I rejoice as a man, whose end and principle passes over the narrow boundaries of species, country and time, to embrace the universality and eternity of good; that the critical and important locality of the Russian Empire is placed in the hands of a Female Man, who has wisdom to discriminate end from means, and rule from principle: She knows that civil power is the heart of social life, and that industry and science is the blood it circulates through all parts of the political body. She seems sensible of her own idvinity, or high energy of effect, to operate

rate good in the only intelligible sphere—sensitive nature. She views the importance of her high post placed at the frontiers of the civilized world : it is her sacred province to distribute civilization to almost half the globe, darkened with the mist of ignorance.

The jealousy of European policy will, I hope, soon be absorbed in the confederacy of nations, and then Russia will be aided, and not opposed, as hitherto, in the glorious task of civilizing the Asiatic World. Commerce will be the harbinger. Arts and Science will succeed. Luxury next takes place, to give birth to sensibility. To this succeeds a well controuled Press, to diffuse a discussive knowledge of perfectability. Civic Virtue then appears, to produce the climax of social organization, the British Constitution, from whose unalterable and unperfectable source

sects and colonies may derive, to make new experiments of social perfectability, to produce the colony of Man, or state of enlightened nature.

P O L A N D.

IN the history of countries, little more is conveyed to the public attention than a narrative of occurrences, in the order of antecedent and consequence: a spiritual analysis, developing the order of cause and effect, escapes the penetration of most writers, whose pursuit is nothing but fame, and their mean of acquisition nothing but memory. The great spring of contemplation, which has power to invert thought and force back the mind to settle upon itself, and exhaust all the elementary relations and essences of a proposition, is known only to the man who knows himself; and such a mind only can trace back, or detect the connection

nection of cause and effect in moral actions.

I was in Poland some time before the peaceful Revolution took place, and upon the most profound research into the moral character of the people, I found them, all to a man, disposed to seize upon individual liberty, and not one single individual capable either to understand it, or enjoy it. The King, like many irreflective Democrats and Revolutionists of my acquaintance, judged of every man by himself, and finding in his own mind a capacity to co-ordinate and occupy the constituent part of a great system, he was ready to fraternize with the Artizan, Mechanic, or Labourer ; though a moment's reflection would teach a mind of the least penetration, that these men are totally incapacitated for all concern in civil power,

from their mode of life and defect of education.

This Revolution, which, like the hurricane, began in a profound calm, might be called the King's own work ; the nation, unintelligibly and indifferently, adopted it with an unmeaning affirmative. The neighbouring potentates foresaw the lowering storm, and took charge of the vessel, and will in future moor it in their own harbours.

When the hostile usurpation took place, I joined in the general indignation, and offered my mite to the Polish Subscription ; but since the horrors of Democracy have broken out in France, and threatened a moral chaos to the civilized world, by contagion and operative affiliation of Jacobinism, I have recanted my former political heresy, and am become the most
zealous

zealous supporter of civic power, adapted to civil knowledge, as the only matrix of human perfectability.

The King of Poland should have contented himself with reforming the sentiments of his subjects, before he called them to participate in civil power, by founding colleges, public schools, a free press, under the guardianship of wise and temperate Censors. He has, however, amply expiated his liberal error, by furnishing a most instructive example, on the graduated scale of political error. Poland will be the admonitory index of monarchy, America of Colonies, Geneva of Republics, and France of Civil Power, under all its denominations. The increasing horrors of these last will give such a surfeit to Democracy, that loathing its indigestive principles, they will seek the remedy of Poland, by a voluntary submission to the
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protective shield of neighbouring established governments.

NAPLES.

THE Cabinet of this country, under the direction of a Minister, a native of Britain or its sister kingdom, taking a view of the French Revolution, and its direful consequences, wisely joined the general confederacy of the defenders of civilization. The internal conspiracy of priests and nobles, formed and detected in the midst of a war of political existence, carries admonitory instruction to its climax ; and must prove, with more than meridian evidence, that knowledge, and not power, is alone salutary and necessary for the great mass of population in every country.

This English Minister has been long carrying his native aptitude of liberty and
reform

reform into the administration of arbitrary departments of Government; but he will now see it necessary to concentrate rather than distend the energies of civil power, and expend all his progressive efforts of improvement in the circulation of civic knowledge and moral principles, amongst the most depraved and licentious people over the face of the globe, and who must be first taught to think, before they can be permitted to act.

SARDINIA.

THIS kingdom is the very counterpart of its Italian sister, Naples. The existence of the latter has been threatened by sea, as the former by land. The same conspiracy has taken place, and the subjects of both are identified in civic ignorance and moral depravity.

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If Great Britain had expended the subsidy granted to this country, in an armament of its own to act in that locality, the kingdom of Sardinia, instead of being invaded, would have carried such conquests in France, as would have placed the South in opposition with the North of France, and a counter-revolution or a most dangerous civil war must have taken place.

When I view the moral state of nations upon the continent of Europe, I see such a total want of virtue and wisdom in both governors and governed, such a compleat absence of moral excellence, to discriminate the gentleman from the plebeian, that were it not for the artificial props of national hatred against France and religious superstition, the whole social fabric must before this have been levelled with the earth; and should the power of France
resist

resist but two years longer the poison of its anarchy, the plebean subjects must every where be armed to prevent subjugation and plunder; and how they will be prevailed, on with returning peace, to surrender their arms to their former contemptible oppressors, I shudder in the conjecture.

GENOA.

THE policy of this nick-named republic has been totally directed by pecuniary speculation, and the terror of hostile vicinity. The efforts of Great Britain to direct her short sighted commercial views were all in vain, she is facinated with the salvation of her debt and her trade, which cannot fail to be followed up with the ursal * fraternization of French ochlocracy.

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* Fatal hug of the bear, which gives death by its embrace.

Great Britain, bold in her conscious integrity, as the champion of civilization, has attempted to effect by force, [what can only be done by persuasion] universal confederacy. The liberty of the seas must not be violated, and all efforts must be directed solely against the common foe, and be cautious to provoke an armed neutrality ; for the duplicity and knavery of continental states resemble much the treachery of a French Convention, where, when the balance of power begins to turn, friends jump into the enemy's scale, and the insulated patriot kicks the beam. Russia has not forgot the British armament to save the Turks. I hope the wisdom of the British Cabinet will be instructed only by the experience of moral cause and effect, and suffer no contingent asseveration of potentates to negative their political interests, and dupe
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the too easy confidence of English sincerity.

This decayed republic has the period of its life marked by the presence of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean; when this shall depart, Genoa will follow the convulsions and fate of Geneva, with the increased horrors which must derive from the depravity of the Italian character.

TUSCANY.

THIS Italian confederate is marching towards the enemy sword in hand, with a poignard under its cloak, to stab its own Commanders. Great Britain has, with dangerous inutility, compelled these selfish and contemptible States to carry their sphere of action beyond both their sympathy and their comprehension; their efforts are of as little consequence as their

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neutrality,

neutrality, which cannot save them from the bearish hug of fraternization, should France triumph over the confederacy of Europe, or have power to preserve their hostile offensive energy, till all civil power, in their vicinity, is dissolved.

SWITZERLAND.

THE political predicament of this country offers an apology for its neutrality. The fountain of French Anarchy having not yet overflowed its bason, the plebean part of the Swiss population feel that natural propensity to unmodified Liberty and Equality, common to human temperament. The Aristocratic Governments were forced to temporize with French Democracy, they most awefully dreaded, and thus they formed a dyke, which diverted the torrent of Anarchy from the West to the North.

I counsel

I counsel the Swiss Republics to let no sacrifice be thought too great, to keep off an invasion, for the short period of only two years more, when the Anarchy of France, after having consternated some neighbouring countries, and consumed others, must stop like the volcano, by the falling in of its own crater: in the mean time, the increasing horrors of its menacing pestilence will form the antidote to its own contagion, and the taste for Democracy pervading the plebeian class of the community, witnessing the social chaos in France, will soon loath its own alimentary principles, and die of a surfeit.

G E N E V A.

I COME now to consider the political state of those countries, where history will emblazon its most instructive pages. The fate of the country I now treat of
will

will teach all peaceful Republics, that when the storm of Revolution has shaken the political atmosphere, those societies are most endangered, whose energy or public will is least concentrated. Liberty attracts the shock of Revolution, as metal the electric thunder-bolt. France with her influence only, and not her arms, has demolished the social bonds, which held industry, science, and simplicity, in a most prosperous alliance in this once happy city.

The sound of Liberty and Equality from the ram's horns of Jacobinism, erased this Jericho to its foundation, and the ramparts of law, property, and peace, in an instant vanished. I fear the horrors of its desolation can receive no alleviation from its Helvetic union ; all interference of the Cantons to extinguish the conflagration of its ruins, would irritate the
French

French Hydra, who has declared itself the parent and protector of desolation. It may, by a most stupendous and impressive example, become the holocaust of discord, and while it dissolves the Helvetic, it may cement an irrefragable moral union amongst all orders of the Swiss population; the only event which can preserve their social existence from the desolating progress of French Anarchy.

BRABANT.

THE political conduct of this desolated country, holds out to mankind a most evident instance, that nations, as well as individuals, are liable to the most extravagant infatuation. A very few months had elapsed since the expulsion of a most outrageous, desolating, and odious enemy, by their protective Sovereign the Emperor, than these brutal citizens commenced a
parreudal

parreudal contest with their King. In vain were all his conjurations, expostulations, and commands; in vain were they reminded of the return of French Anarchy. Inflamed with vengeance and the thirst of plunder, nothing could move their Flemish insensibility to take up arms in defence of their constitution, their religion, their lives, and their property. The French Hydra arrived, and they are now fallen a prey to this all devouring monster.

This country, like that of Geneva, though irretrievably lost to itself, may become, by its consternating example, the salvation of others; and should the Allied Powers continue successfully their defensive system, French Anarchy will increase in the ratio of its area of exertion, and its horrors will do more to check the prevailing spirit of Democracy, than all
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the arguments of reason, or philosophy, or all the armies of the earth, collected and led on by one despotic arm of power.

HOLLAND.

THE plebean sordid souls of Dutch citizens [pieces of base metal stamped with the image of manhood] have at last been roused from their prostrate attitude of praying to their strong boxes. The transmutation of French Paper into Dutch Ducats, has brought them to a civic lucid interval, and they now make the follow-calculation—That it is better to suffer Statholder to make his Life Guard Man a Magistrate, than to attempt a political reform, in which Jacobinism will seize the golden opportunity to make all Magistracy unnecessary ; for when property shall be common, there can be no injustice, and when every body shall be naturally

rally free and equal, law and power must be totally useless.

This country, like all constituted States, has had its public energy much impeded, and has rather engaged formally than interestedly, in the general armed confederacy against France. The cause of this conduct may be attributed to the common jealousy, in which all political States participate of civil power; and the horrors of French Anarchy must tinge the whole hemisphere with blood, ere this can be removed, and Anarchy be regarded as a Scylla wanting a Charibdis, which the most direful civil despotism can never form.

AMERICA.

I COME now to speak of a country, where a very common Man,* of but very common

* The pamphlet of Common Sense, written by T. Paine.

common sense, seduced, by the infatuating cry of *Liberty*, the most heterogeneous mass of population in the world, to break their center of union, and to separate from their metropolitan Empire. The voice of reason in vain urged them to reflect, that the end of all policy was the union of the greatest number of citizens, to protect the public welfare against nations in a state of nature, whose law was their power, and whose will the accumulation of dominion; to reflect, that the internal peace of America was incompatible with the heterogeneity of its population—some free men, some slaves, some citizens, some bondsman, some colonists, some aborigines, divided by as great a variety of political interests as religious opinions; to reflect, that their want of a Navy and Army would subject their national commerce every where to insult and insecurity, and must ultimately expose

them to that civil discord which must terminate in domestic or foreign despotism. Common Sense has triumphed over Good Sense ; and a view of the present state of that country will enable us to predict the direful consequence of its victory to that precocious and devoted Republic.

The administration of justice and policy is conducted with a turpitude that would disgrace the annals of a French revolutionary government. In the courts of law, chicane appears with such effrontery, that induces indignation to look with a venial regard on the corruption of Italian tribunals. Political councils are divided by personal interest, and the different states attach to their votes in Congress the condition of some municipal advantage or individual appointment.

Washington,

Washington, the Parragon of American Patriotism, is at the head of a plantation of Slaves. This paraclete of Liberty, who would be exceptionable as a juryman in England, is the only centre of light, heat, and attraction, to this centrifugal heterogeneous mass of population. When this meteor, which in America is a sun, though in England it would be but an *ignis fatuus*, shall fall, the Western World will be involved in the darkness of chaos, and must wait its re-creation from the advent of metropolitan power from the East.

In vain does this unitary American Patriot seek to unite the jarring interests and opinions of this egotistic mass: every one looks for the criterion of good, at the door of his own warehouse, or the cottage of his own farm. The Frontier Settlers demand peace with the Indians, to secure their lives and properties; while the Internal

ternal Settlers, finding the price of their land increased, by the insecurity of the frontiers, demand a war. The Northern States demand the abolition of Slavery, the Southern its perpetuity. Some States claim protection from foreign oppression, while others maintain the necessity of compromise and submission. The Maritime Towns, engaged in Smuggling and Piracy, demand protection from the Provinces, which these reply to by following their example in Indian encroachments, and their accord terminates in the set-off of reciprocal and unavailing invocations of aid.

In this state of foreign and domestic impotency, the powerful nations of Europe, in their present contest for social life, having trespassed upon American fields of Neutrality, and incommoded the insect Population, like vindictive bees they fly
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in the face of the passengers, and stinging, instigate them to the destruction of their hive. But Great Britain, like the gentleman who treads by accident upon the carter's toes, soothes him with a pot of beer, rather than enter upon a pugilistic contest, by which neither honour nor profit can be acquired by the one; and the ignorance of the other, prompt to revenge, can be appeased only by his interest.

The present state of domestic contention in America will prove my foregoing assertion, that the scion has been prematurely severed from its parent stock. This country, abandoned by Great Britain, and removed from all external danger, formed a most perfect Theory of Government, and impressed it upon parchment. This, like the ancient Polar Quadrant, directed the Vessel of the State, in an undisturbed and

and unclouded hemisphere ; but in the present storm of Policy, which threatens to involve the world, the want of a magnetic Compas or practical British Constitution, will, I fear, cause the aberration of the Pilot, and the total loss of the Vessel of the State.

The end of all Government being to oppose social system to the discord of individual sentiment, whenever the Public Will shall be opposed by Individual Will, System must be destroyed. America having organized this Will, by constituted authority, if any power, out of the co-ordination of such authority, should become refractory or paramount to this Will, a Revolution must immediately take place, and operate until civil mechanism shall be recreated or restored,

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The organized and superior constituted Powers of America, having lately come to a determination to prefer a peaceful to a violent redress of political injuries, have been opposed not by subordinate constituted electoral authorities, by instructive addresses, but by a number of desperate individuals, combined, under the auspices of a French Minister, into Democratic Societies. These men, by the influence of mobs, paid like themselves with French livres, have assumed a controul over Congress, which cannot cease but with a Revolution; and as in this country Civic Virtue is unknown, Confidence, its offspring, [the anchor of all delegated power] can have no existence. The Public Will must therefore remain at the end of all Revolutions, with the same impotence, creative of others, whenever occasion shall call forth the innovating spirit of desperate individuals.

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How admonitory and instructive are the present political dissensions of America to all reflective minds ! They render the catastrophe of a Revolution unnecessary to conviction. In this peaceful and plentiful country, Man is living in a state approaching to natural Liberty and Equality ; the coercion of Government is exercised only in the cause of protection from foreign and domestic enemies ; every individual represented in the Legislative Council, electing their own Magistrates, instructing imperatively their several Representatives, administering their own justice, possessing all the comforts of life, with a redundancy of property in land, or the certain product of a temperate industry ; the name of Pauper and Plebeian unknown ; and yet, let Reason blush, and Instinct laugh, while I record it—a Jacobin French Minister sounded the necromantic horn of *French Liberty and Equality*, and the

the manly sentiments of *British or Civic Liberty* were expelled the land; Democratic Societies started into existence; and by opposing their will to the constituted Authorities, will suddenly effect a Revolution they privately design, but which they dare not publicly proclaim.

Happy would it be for mankind, should Fate fix upon this country, to develop instantaneously the pages of moral Science, to instruct mankind.—The redundancy of Soil and Property, the inutility of Power, the apathy of Passion, the absence of Ambition, would prepare a volume of bloodless events, illumined by such extravagance of discordant opinion, and series of revolutions, as would prove, beyond all possibility of controversy, the foregoing political axiom—That the end of all Government was to oppose System to the unterminable discord of Individual Opinion.

THE MECHANISM OF CIVIL SOCIETY.

On the great scale of existence, vitality or motion seems to have but two graduations, contingency or chaos, and organization or system. The coalition of the powers of motion to form paramount spheres of design and order, is beyond all human conception: but the operations of our own sphere to force contingency into system, is capable of being understood and taught as progressive, but not absolute perfection.

The highest energy of the human sphere of existence is Intellect; consequently the great end and principle of all its motion, is to invent such maxims and moral institutions, as shall procure the most permanent and efficient system to augment and perfect human intellect.

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There are three most momentous propositions relative to the above, which have been for a very long time the subject of my contemplation, and I must with candour and regret avow, that I cannot meet them with any peremptory decision.

The first, is the Propagation of Truth.

The second, is the Precedency of Light and Liberty.

The third, whether Luxury is necessary to increase Intellectuality, or whether Knowledge might not be made a happier substitute.

I shall endeavour to discuss these questions with all the closeness and analysis I am capable of, for on their solution must be placed the sacred foundation of the intellectual world — *the Propagation*
of

of Truth. It has been maintained by many writers, that truth is dangerous. Here is an assertion containing a contradiction in terms. If the word Truth has any meaning, it must be fitness of relation of parts to produce perfect system in a whole, and therefore applicable to morality; must import the best possible mean to obtain the greatest possible good, or that rule which directs action to arrive at well-being or happiness: Truth, therefore, in its nature can never be dangerous, or what is synonymous, injurious to mankind; but truth, like food, is capable of being misused, and thereby may become poison; the former to the mind, as the latter to the body.

I have, in some of my voluminous writings, laboured to discriminate predicamental from perfectable good; or, in other words, good relative to present condition,

dition, and good relative to improveable condition. A native of India, who believes that were he to eat a beef-stake, a personified vindictive power would descend from the skies and destroy him—were the doctrine of the unity of Self and Nature exposed to this idolator, he might understand only that part which destroyed his former belief, but not enough to establish any new or good principle of action. He would then break loose from all restraint in moral duties, and become destructive to himself and others. Truth administered to a weak mind, is like high food given to the feverish; neither can be digested, and therefore sickness and error must be increased.

The doctrine of the unity of Self and Nature, which teaches an equal participation of good and evil in time and eternity, can influence only minds in a state
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of exquisite sensibility ; thoughtless unfeeling minds would have no motive for improvement or forbearance, as the calculation which identifies individual and universal, temporal and eternal good, is attainable only by the highest degree of reflection. Truth, therefore, like the poisons of pharmacy, must be administered with a strict regard to the various constitutions of the patients of error and sickness.—The truth that elevates the philosopher, would precipitate the peasant, as the dose that calms the fever would inflame the gout.

I am disposed to believe, that it would be advantageous to the progress and investigation of truth, if in all countries the plenary Liberty of the Press was established in the Greek language alone, and that publications in all other languages, the Latin meeting with some indulgence, should

should be subject to a Censor, whose duty it should be to let in upon the public mind such a proportion of the sun of Truth as should gradually enlighten and not dazzle the public eye, and in this temperate medium, practical writers upon Politiy, Morality, and Philosophy should observe the criterion of instruction.

The Greek language should be made the common vehicle of sentiment of the various nations, whose sovereigns and philosophers should keep up a perpetual correspondence, to determine not only the nature of moral truth, but the best and safest method by which the great mass of mankind might be governed, in order to acquire progress to intellectual life, or perfectability.

Hominem restituere sibi.

The next momentous question which demands the most profound discussion of the enlightened part of mankind, is the the Precedency of Light and Liberty—whether freedom should be antecedent to wisdom, or wisdom antecedent to freedom. The transposition of this question in the following manner, viz. Whether knowledge should precede action, or action knowledge, no one will hesitate a moment to answer in favour of the precedency of knowledge; and thus discussion would be regarded as useless. Civil Power, in its efforts to protect the sanctity of laws and customs, being necessitated to controul the propagation of inflammatory sentiments, appears to make war upon wisdom itself; and this operation of Government has created doubt in determining the foregoing question. But I am disposed to believe, that should the despotism of Civil Power prohibit all publication of sentiment,

nay,

may, even destroy the Press itself, yet the present aggregated state of an enlightened, inquisitive, and industrious population must produce the slow, and therefore sure and ultimate triumph of Reason and Truth.

Civil Government, to be perfect, should represent, in its effect, [the form being of little consequence] Domestic Government, where power, in full energy and confidence, restricts the passion and liberates the reason of children, till virility having dissolved the parental bondage, light is at length overtaken by liberty, and the adult becomes a free and prudent citizen.

The progress of nature to perfection in all its works is remarkably slow, but in the moral world its motion approaches imperceptibility. The farmer can foresee the term to his productive labour, and har-

vest consequent to cultivation ; but the moralist has no rule to calculate the effect of theory upon practice : he can do nothing but cultivate mind ; all attempts to force practice produces the precocious blossom which the frost of unaccommodating season of predicament must destroy, and the revolution of ages must wait its restoration.

If the present moral pestilence of France should spread its contagion over all the world, and produce the triumph of Passion over Reason, or the inversion of the pyramid of society, by subjecting the optimacy to the plebacy of the community, superstition, poverty, anarchy, and ignorance, must re-assume their ancient and universal empire, to sweep civilization into the abyss of barbarism.

I must

I must here take notice of a most wonderful moral phenomenon, or most extraordinary conjuncture of moral events. Civil Society has been, from an incalculable period, ascending the rising arc of perfectability. With some short pauses, and also retrogradations, it seems now to threaten declension. In this stupendous crisis an individual appears, and discovers the acmé of Intellectuality, the unity of Self and Nature in essence, in power, in interest, which will be developed shortly in a work to be denominated "*Opus Maximum*, or Mechanism of Universal Existence."

This momentous discovery will, I hope, carry on the social body to its true meridian or point of culmination ; but should the present imminent power of passion or revolution burst from its orbit, a moral chaos must ensue, and the tardy work of incalculable ages must again be employed
to

to restore contingency to system, and myriads of ages to consummate the present acquired perfectability of the moral world, or knowledge of the unity of Self and Nature; and thus the fate of the moral world will resemble that of the aloe, whose florescence is its death.

I come now to my third and last proposition, Whether Luxury is the only possible medium of the progress of Intellect, or whether Knowledge might not become a happier substitute. There appears to be a clear distinction between the desire of knowledge and the desire of enjoyment; the latter brings support and pleasure to life, and the former a mere increase of intellect, inapplicable to pleasure or advantage. I allude here to the mere animal, not intellectual man, who sees in the increase of Intellect the universal good of Self and Nature.

Among

Among the savage tribes of America there exists a spark of curiosity exceeding in strength their sensual desires, and if this was fed by instruction, it might advance the progress of luxury, and liberate these nations from its painful and slow operations to produce sensibility, the only source of moral perfectability. I wish this momentous experiment could be made by some intelligent philonthropic travellers; it might save the great mass of existence from much evil, and accelerate the consummation of universal good.

“ Reason is the card, but passion is the gale.”

The above aphorism of Pope is in favour of luxury ; but in my own person I find all the gale is in my reason, for I have my passions in a constant calm. I know many men of knowledge and little passion, and I find their sensibility equal to the most insatiate epicure wallowing
in

in luxury. I fear, however, there must be a certain proportion of luxury, as a redundancy of food and cloathing, with defensive security in society, to assure subsistence, or curiosity of knowledge would find no occasion to operate but when an aggregate body of men had secured, by the impulse of desire, these primary necessities. I am disposed to believe, that knowledge alone would be efficient to all perfectability.

The nations of India in the East evince, by the paucity of factitious wants, or low state of luxury combined with a high state of civilization, that arts and science have produced their present refined polity with but little aid from luxury. This country has been, no doubt, the origin of all arts and science; and yet, nature here demands so little food, raiment, or lodging, that very little labour is required for
sub-

subsistence, and proves that it is to the passion of curiosity, or desire of knowledge alone, that social perfectability owes its progress in those immense domains.

Having discussed the foregoing questions of Truth, Knowledge, and Liberty; and having decided that the progress, or retrogress of Truth, depends on its mode of developement, that knowledge must have the precedence of liberty, and that knowledge alone, without the aid of luxury or factitious desires, is efficient to give progress to Intellectuality, I shall proceed to apply these decisions to the mechanism of Civil Society.

I shall reserve for my more speculative writings the origin or cause of man's aggregation, and in these practical pages I shall confine myself intirely to consider its end or effect, and the means proper to be

be used to conduct society to its goal of perfectability.

The end of all Government is the improvement of human intellect, and to this centre should converge all the radii of Institution, Power, and Policy. The medium of its progress must be Peace, Plenty, and Personal Security. These can be procured only by the establishment of a public Will, called Government. Such establishment can be formed only by assumptive power, under various denominations,—as Monarchy, Aristocracy, Republicanism. Delegated power, called Democracy, can exist only where Opinion and Interest assimilate the great mass of individuals: where these differ, in consequence of a great extent of country or population, assumptive power can alone form a bond of social union.

The

The Democratic States of Switzerland have no difference in sentiment, either civil or political; and the perpetual peace they enjoy would furnish a most congenial medium to intellectual progress. But the labour of subsistence, joined to the amusements of superstition, occupy all their leisure, and degrade them to a level with the flocks they subsist on.

The first object of all Government is, to assimilate sentiment by authority, to controul dissention by the duty of obedience, or to substitute to the disastrous anarchy of individual opinion one public Will. In the uproar of democratic dissensions recorded in classic history, the competition of individuals for property, rendered subsistence so precarious, that man was totally occupied to support life; and the leisure to reflect upon its improvement was left to some needy nick-named

philosophers, who did little more than confound with a silly sophistry the irreflexive and wondering populace, who fed them.

In the present state of Civilization, the first principle of social mechanism is the preservation of civil power. At this epocha of intellectual dawn, false meteors are blazing through the moral atmosphere, to dazzle the opening eye of man, and leading him on to the abyss of dissention and anarchy. Sovereigns are called upon, by their common integer nature, to hold fast their sceptre of authority, to force the passions of the multitude to obedience, and to urge the curiosity of the intelligent to investigate the Theory of Truth, and mark its distant and progressive union with Practice, through the medium of peaceful System.

The

The revelation of Moral Truth, or the exposition of the perfectability of human nature, must have a tendency to diminish the veneration of the present laws, customs, and opinions, in the public mind, and give it a restless and inordinate propensity to innovation. To check this new habit or impulsive phrenzy, portentous of universal anarchy, I fear all free States will be obliged to sacrifice their Liberties on the altar of Civil Power, and that unlimited or despotic Sovereignty must be established over all the world, upon this capitulation with Truth and universal Good; that the Greek language shall be an uncontrouled and unlimited vehicle of the press, to teach Power the end and means of all its operations — the propagation of the doctrine of the Unity of Self and Nature:

Naturam restituere sibi.

I shall

I shall here present the sketch of a Treaty of Universal Dominion, between the supreme Energies of this sphere of Existence, Truth, and Power.

In the Name of our common Integer Nature,

CONSIDERING that every fractional part of the great whole of Existence is like the ray of the sun, the *pars in toto*, or *totum in parte*,* We, the high contracting Parties, have determined upon the following partition of dominion and operation, to co-ordinate

Every single ray must operate with the energy of the whole Sun, *e. g.* the ray that operates in the centre of the earth, is the power of the whole sun relative to distance and locality ; so every mode of being, relative to its capacities and predicament, is the energy of all Nature, *e. g.* when I write or think, the sun must attract, the earth must revolve, the air must animate, and the universe must conspire to produce any single act which proves the *totum in parte*, or that the partial act of all modes is the integral act of all Nature.

ordinate with our great Integer in the progress of universal good.

To Truth is conceded the supreme domain of Intellect, upon the following conditions :—First, that all theoretic speculation, upon moral perfectability, be confined to the Greek language, and to conversation in private families : all publications, and public conversations, tending to depreciate present Systems, shall be disowned by Truth, and subjected to the restriction and domain of Civil Power.

To Civil Power is conceded the wide domain of Passion, with special privilege to use every innocent fiction which may conciliate the irreflective plebeian class of subjects to obedience. Superstitious Fear, may be lawfully employed to create Sensibility, the parent of Thought, or inverted

verted Mind, called Intellectuality. Every means of art and force may be used to prevent these members of the body politic from dissention or dissatisfaction, with their peculiar functions ; that the Feet may not complain of their labour and calosity, or envy the Eye its prospect and tenderness ; that the Stomach may not refuse to toil for the Epicurean Palate, or the Arms for the Sedentary Head ; but all be made sensible that good and evil is equally participated and effected by the difference of Functions to the whole Corporeal Body, as Universal Good and Evil is to the great Integer, and its various organized parts.

According to the foregoing articles, the body of man is wholly surrendered to the controul of Civil Power, and the Mind of Man is conceded to the domain of Truth.

To

To forward and perpetuate the execution of the above Treaty, it is the duty of Philosophy to labour hard, to instil into the minds of Sovereigns and learned men the knowledge of Moral Truth, and into the plebeian mind a respect for Law, Custom, and Civil Authority. The progress of Intellectuality must be cultivated by the inverse rule of Vegetation. Water is poured on the roots of all plants, which conveys the fructifying sap to the branches; but the irrigation of intellectuality must be applied to the top of the tree, or learned men, and its maturing sap must descend to the plebeian root.

Important moral sentiments, conveyed to the ignorant or plebeian mind, break the shackles of habit, and let him loose to innovation and action, ever agreeable to animal sensation. Light must not be presented, in its own effulgence, to weak
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mental optics; it must come through a refrangible medium. The Courtier must carry the conversation of the Sovereign to his own table, accompanied with accommodating commentaries. These are related by the Lord's beef-eater to the house-steward with new predicamental comments; these descend to the house-keeper's room with adapted comments; from hence they descend to the kitchen; from the kitchen to the stable, and from the stable to the street, operating upon every mind with an influence suited to their respective stations, through the medium of appropriate comments.

The Revolution of Reason, a work of consummate wisdom, if read at the University, would tend only to polemic disquisition, and effect only the liberalization of the mind; but if read to an army or a mob, would tend to the subversion of all moral sentiment,

sentiment, and effect a most deplorable anarchy of licentiousness. Happily, though written in the vernacular language, the magnitude of conception has been too great for the facility of expression, and renders them intelligible only to minds of labour and penetration. The great and important truths contained therein will, I hope, as they were intended, descend upon the ignorant mind through the refracted medium of conversation; for should they be circulated by ignorant or malevolent people, to irritate the plebeian mind to precipitate and intemperate action, they would bring on the dissolution of civil society, and operate a moral chaos, thereby defeating their own end, the Discovery of Truth, and Reign of Universal Good.

Philosophy and Civil Power have always lived in amity; and whenever the

former developed or promulgated truth with an alarming and sudden blaze, the latter opposed it only by removal to a less conspicuous asylum.* Wherever civil power has apparently violated the domain of wisdom, it has been in the punishment of some nick-named philosopher, who made his pen the suborned instrument of faction or fame, to lampoon a minister, or to inflame the public mind to action. The State Prisons on the Continent of Europe are peopled only with such culprits. True Philosophy is the friend of civil power, and the enemy of licentiousness, discord, and precipitate action; and when it has at any time been assaulted by Bigotry, it has found an asylum with Kings; and the enmity of Civil Power has been displayed only by the Democracy of Athens against Socrates, and by the Democracy of France against Materialists.

The

* Descartes banished to Germany, Rousseau to Switzerland.

The present awful conjuncture of moral and political events will put the mechanism of civil government to a severe and just trial. Hitherto the various constituted systems of civil power have remained sufficiently active and permanent, to preserve the internal and external peace of nations, however interrupted by partial wars and partial rebellions. But at the present portentous epocha, when thirty millions of irreflective, impetuous people, in the center of Europe, have dissolved the bonds of social union, and declared war with all civil society, I fear the disastrous contention with an unfeeling nation, upon whom the horrors of anarchy seem to have no other effect than water thrown upon metal in fusion, to cause a devastating explosion in its environs, without extinguishing its own heat—I fear this nation of fools and scoundrels, who decree death to their enemies,

mies, to make their victories more arduous, and who pillage the vanquished under proclamations of protection, to make welcome their fraternization, will, notwithstanding this manifestation of unparalleled folly and contemptible knavery—I fear they will still have energy enough, through the distribution of enormous bribery, to infatuate the suffering multitude [in the total cessation of all commercial industry] to turn their arms against their own governments, and spread the pestilence of French Anarchy over all the globe.

The only hopes of preservation that can be offered to social life, are to be drawn from the increasing horrors of French Anarchy, [whose dawn has but yet appeared] which, though it may not affect its own aggregated hoards of unfeeling monsters, it cannot fail to consternate all feeling, reflective nations. If,
on

on the other hand, the pliant and unprincipled mind of a Frenchman should prevent, by indifference and flexibility, the brim-full cap of anarchy from an overflow, I pronounce it impossible for free countries to preserve their constitutions. Will Great Britain be able to resist thirty millions of armed madmen, supported by bribery of an incalculable amount, promulgating the fascinating doctrines of Liberty, Equality, and Division of Property, to the ignorant multitude? Will Great Britain, with the hands of Civil Power bound by the individual liberty of the subject; unwise Jurymen, incapable to temporize with public exigency, acquitting the seditious and rebellious; citizens all occupied in Commerce, and disputing about forms of Militia, when the danger of the metropolis is calling them to immediate action; public Newspapers paid by the enemy to spread abroad
discontent

discontent, to lampoon patriotism, and to excite insurrection; Ministers pillaging those honours designed for Martial Virtue, at a moment when the fate of social life is set upon the die, and Valour alone has the cast.

As the office of King has been created to establish factitious patriotism as a substitute for natural patriotism, by identifying the prosperity of the country with the personal interest of a Sovereign, which effort in a citizen can be produced only by the most consummate state of reason, I fear the present heretical state of civil society will oblige the free citizen to make a temporary surrender of his privileges, that the main spring of civil mechanism [sovereign power] may operate without any embarrasment to preserve the motion, or life of universal civilization. In this country of thought and moral excellence,
I should

should feel no anxiety for the temporary suspension of Liberty, because the pledge of its restitution is the Virtue and Intellectuality of the great majority of its inhabitants.

At this very awful and ominous crisis, when philosophy having discovered the goal of perfectability, and thereby depreciated the sanctity of laws and customs, Wits and Demagogues, thirsting after fame and power, draw forward theoretic truth, and place it upon the scale of practice, to instigate the animal sensation or passion of Man [ever too prone] to action and innovation. To support these doctrines, thirty millions of madmen have taken up arms, to join themselves to those disaffected subjects, their emissaries; and secret service money may prepare for insurrection, in this dreadful contest between Civil Liberty and Natural Liberty,

or Order and Anarchy. I recommend to all nations to suspend those civic privileges which may restrict Sovereign Power, and not to re-assume them till both the storm of rebellion and sentimental dissension is past, and the calm of Social Peace returns.

England has already set the example, by the surrender of the Habeas Corpus privilege. I fear, the Liberty of the Press must soon follow; for the unprincipled audacity of the Jacobin Papers, if suffered to spread abroad much longer, their inflammatory matter, will so contaminate the loyalty of the mob, that Virtue and Good Sense, the moral characteristic of the country, will not be able to resist the contagion of their French opinions of Liberty, Equality, and Division of Property. —These suborned, unprincipled Papers, that have, for near five years, spread
abroad

abroad their seductive licentiousness in this Island, with too much effect, would have caused, in any other country, a most dangerous ochlocratic revolution, in less than five months.

Should the establishment of a Committee of the most virtuous and wisest men in the nation, as Censors upon the Press in the vernacular language, have not the desired effect to impede insurrections, I fear, the great palladium of Liberty, Juries, must also be partially suspended, and Commissaries appointed to try all crimes against the State, while the present war of social existence continues.

Democratic principles, in honest minds, draw all their seductive influence from the history of the Grecian and Roman Republics; but if readers would but consider the very little analogy that exists be-

tween the manners and principles of the present and those remote ages, those classic pages would furnish nothing but insulated portraitures of antiquated nations, resembling the present nations as little as the portrait of the infant the countenance of the same person in longevity.

The Greeks and Romans had the most assimilated sentiments in matters of Religion. Their political interests, or the supremacy of one city over myriads of subjects and rival cities, assimilated necessarily their civic sentiments, in the centre of common safety; the labouring classes of the community were most of them slaves, whereby property and power were forced into alliance. The separation of the sexes removed the greatest source of personal jealousy, envy, and effeminate pursuits from the men. The non-existence of the Press prevented the general influence
of

of error and seductive sophistry from spreading abroad discord.

The modern nations, divided by ten thousand political and religious heresies; the labourer, the merchant, and the patrician, all subject to the same law, and all panting after the repose which poverty obtains through industry. The promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, subjecting the wisdom of the governing to the weakness of the governed, creating envy, jealousy, effeminate, and dissimulating conduct in the men. The Press flowing over with absurdities of every witling, that Fame tempts to scribble, causes as many opinions as there are authors and readers.

Here then we have a comparative view of ancients and moderns, who differ as much in moral sentiments as the Antipodes

podes in customs; a change of government, or revolution, amongst the former was like two contending winds at sea, the most powerful got the better of the weaker, and currents, waves, and elements all followed with one accord the victor. But modern revolutions, varying but little from the old system, have excited ten thousand dissentient opinions, which, like winds blowing from all points of the compass, produce a hurricane which breaks to pieces and threatens to founder the vessel of society. Bigots and Atheists, Philosophers and Fools, Labourers and Landholders, Magistrates and Citizens, Lovers and Mistresses, Authors and Readers, all join in the accumulated mass of dissention; and when the hurricane of discord subsides, the half wrecked vessel of the State is obliged to return to the old haven of Civil Power, to procure Peace and Safety.

The

The observation respecting the Inter-
 -course of the Sexes refers only to the
 Continent of Europe. This Island is hap-
 pily liberated from the dominion of gal-
 lantry, which has preserved to its male in-
 habitants all the truth and dignity of man-
 hood, and to the female sex modesty and
 sensibility, which give life to thought,
 and are the source of English Intellectu-
 ality. The controul of sexual passions
 is the key by which the chords of mental
 sensibility are stretched to their full ten-
 sion, and the interdiction of gallantry
 leaves to the mind the nobler pursuits of
 friendship, polity, learning, and com-
 merce, and frees it from those mean pas-
 sions of jealousy, envy, foppery, and fri-
 volity, the characteristics of a native of
 the Continent.

When these monkies of gallantry arrive
 in England, they find the high state of
 mental

mental civilization too refined for their gross sentiments; they are confounded when English women listen with contempt to their fulsome compliments and love anecdotes, and when men frown upon their witty familiarities, which sport with sensibility, and the pride of manhood, sincerity, judgment, reputation. * I have known them much confounded when they heard of the sentence of Coventry, or social exile, and most inexorably offended when meanness of spirit, or want of generosity, has been thus punished in themselves or their acquaintances. The high character of gentleman, the pivot of social order, is known

* The conversation of Foreigners is so perfectly easy and witty, that if the estimable qualities of manhood are attacked with epigrammatic point and brilliant eloquence, the victim feels not his wounds, and nothing is too sacred to be laughed at by their unfeeling minds; and the delicate sensibility of an English mind is called brutality, or want of worldly or courtly intercourse, called, *haut ton*.

known in no country but England, where the contingent qualities of rank, birth, and property, give pretension, but moral worth alone gives preference. It is common upon the Continent of Europe for noblemen to higgie in the purchase of a penny nosegay, and to obtain it for an halfpenny from a poor flower girl! An English apprentice boy would scorn such meanness!

Generosity is the true criterion of manhood, as thought of civil liberty; and while Englishmen shall possess these moral virtues, their island will continue to be the head, as the continents and other parts, will be the body and members of the great animal, the World.

From what has been said, digressively or connectedly, upon the subject of Civil Polity, in the foregoing sections, I think,

we can draw no other conclusion, than that the organization of society depends solely upon the quality of thought and sagacity of the people. The mechanism of government or law, calculated to arrest the mutability of predicament, * by anticipating occurrences or human actions, should be nothing but a flexible instrument of Civil Power, the progress of Liberty and Truth, in conformity to foreign and domestic predicament, *e. g.* If, while the Press avails itself of Liberty to inflame the multitude to insurrection, foreign enemies should co-operate with
actual

* This fixation of predicament by law, enables the civilized man to subject the contingency of causes and effects to System, and assure its perpetuity. The civil laws fix the social predicament in all future epochs, and enable men to appropriate their industry to their offspring; the laws of nations, or political treaties, fix the eventual predicament of nations and customs; and personal promises fix the moral predicament to guide personal conduct in private action.

actual or menaced invasion, the mechanism of Government must supplant popular rights by Sovereign privilege; or, in other words, the individual must be deprived of a personal will, that the united community may have a public will; and when the danger is past, power must return into its divided channels of Individual Liberty.

Such operations of political mechanism cannot be procured by form of law, or establishment of constitution; it must be derived alone from the thought and sagacity of the people, directing them when to cede their rights, and when to resume them.

America, where human nature, in its transplantation, like brutes and trees, from the British soil, has much degenerated, has devised a substitute to degenerated

thought and sagacity, viz. a convention of the people, every seven years to revise an unalterable and fixed constitution. No provision is made for intervening events, and the public will has no means to apportion its energy to political exigency, till the expiration of seven years, and the assembly of the convention. The thoughtful sagacious people of England, in full possession of deliberative Sovereignty, are always in convention, in town, county, and parochial meetings, and are thereby enabled to direct their collective power dilatedly in themselves, or compressively in a legislative and executive agent, according to domestic or foreign exigencies; and in this pre-eminent and efficacious moral union, they are the only people on the face of the globe who can claim or apply to themselves the dignified name of a Nation.

Ask

Ask a foreign biped when he assumes the name of Nation, what he means by the appellation of American, Italian, Russian, Dutchman, German? Is there any assimilation of interest, opinion, or power, in those human locations of herds? What is there to identify in Italy the citenzship of a Venetian and Neapolitan? In America, of the slave drivers in the South, with the canting hypocrites of the North, or the scalping savage of the West? What in Russiacan identify the Tartar worshipping the rock, with the Moscovian Christian worshipping the hypostatic union in a pastry biscuit? What identifies the Dutchman in his various united provinces? His large breeches. What the German, in ten thousand slavish principalities? His whiskers and his boots.

I burn with indignation, when I listen to the suborned dialogue of a foreign politician

litician in the present awful crisis ! they deal out common-place censure upon the envied Constitution of Great Britain, and extol the anarchy of France with all the zeal that secret service money can inspire. When they are honest, they seem intoxicated with the sounds of Liberty and Equality, which education, or principle, has never explained to them. Like galley-slaves, they would set fire to the vessel, in hopes to escape by the conflagration. Such desperate doctrines may inflame the ignorant, but excite the pity of the man of good sense, civic virtue, and civic knowledge.

I caution the generous humane Briton, the friend of Liberty and Truth, to turn a deaf ear to all political doctrines preached in foreign accents, * and to answer
their

* I except not Ireland and Scotland, where the severity of law, adapting itself to the intemperance of the people,

their silly sophistry of Equality by the following aphorism: Truth and Liberty are the sources of all good; but Truth must precede Liberty, as cause and effect. Gradation is the medium of their progress, precipitation that of their annihilation.

At the opening of the present dreadful contest of social existence, I foresaw the horrors of the conflict, and looked for a peaceful retirement to repose in safety that mind, which having carried Theory to its climax, is now labouring to direct Practice in safety, not to the goal, but only to the road. I was invited by the abundant product of the soil and temperate passions of the inhabitants to the American soil; but the absence of civic virtue

people, has driven from thence the bold malignant disciples of Anarchy, who use the liberality and lenity of British Government as an instrument for its demolition.

tue and moral principle, together with the diversity of political and religious sentiments, led me to conjecture there could not be the Asylum of Peace. I then turned my thoughts to the strong arm of civil power in Russia; but having witnessed the conspiracies against authority, by the very nobles most interested to preserve it in various despotic countries, my fear for the general reign of Anarchy deterred me from seeking an asylum upon the Continent of Europe.

I next thought of Asia; but its unhealthy climate, and unprincipled despotism, dispelled all hopes of safety. Ultimately disappointed in all hopes of a retreat into foreign countries, I revolved seriously and profoundly in my mind, the present and future state of my own. The aggregate state of a redundant population of nine millions of people, upon a small island,

island, subsisting supplantarily upon a casual importation of grain by sea, was the first cause of alarm ; the next was, the high state of luxury which had multiplied the factitious wants, and had increased in the same proportion the passions and sensibility of the people. This impassioned population, exposed to the piracy and invasion of a desperate enemy, impelled, by anarchy and famine, from every distracted nation on the Continent—I feared the contagion of anarchy would communicate its pestilence to the impatient and suffering people of this island. Such were the dark shades of the eventual portraiture my imagination drew, aided by Reason analogizing moral causes, and their consequences. Now for the light colouring of the picture! I walk much in the streets, and I witness every day, in the quarrels of the inhabitants, an antipathy to murder and a disposition to justice,

generosity, and sympathy, in the common people; their passions are violent, but it is a sense of honour which inflames them. They cannot, like the natives of the Continent, make their reputation the sport of the market-place, in long and injurious invectives; every Englishman has a character of manhood to support, and no one dares deprive him of it with impunity.

The sympathy of all orders of people, to support either public or private distress, is evinced by the most liberal subscriptions; the moderation of men in power, and the confidence of popular obedience, the general habit of virtuous pride and thoughtfulness; the first of which subjects vice to virtue, and the last gives prudence, or calculation of cause and effect, to obtain that Providence which opposes sys-

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tem to contingency, and calls into organization the moral chaos.

Viewing the above moral portraiture of the British Nation, I have ultimately determined to fix my residence in this Island, where, whatever anarchy may ensue, the moral character of the people holds out the only rock of hope to the philosophic ark, upon which it may rest, till the universal deluge of Anarchy shall have subsided, and the world of Reason and Manhood re-assume its progress.

EXHORTATION TO BRITONS.

DEAR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

I have travelled during a period of 20 years over the most interesting parts of the globe, to observe moral causes and effects, to take a comparative view of all nations,

and to discover the exit of that labyrinth, in which sophistry and ignorant egotism had imprisoned Truth, Liberty, and Happiness, since the æra of historic knowledge.

I have discovered this long sought exit to be the quality called Thoughtfulness,* which is a capacity of mind to look back upon past experience ; to look round upon
all

* This quality of thoughtfulness is to be acquired only through the austerity of education, and the rigid moral discipline of civil and domestic society, prevailing in Great Britain alone. Upon the Continent of Europe, moral discipline is every where so relaxed, that thought is totally supplanted by memory ; and if the child has his task, and the adult his anecdote by heart, the automaton is perfect, and example winds him up, while power sets him agoing.

There are two distinct powers of Intellect—the perceptive and the reflective. The first is creative of wit, or inventive composition ; the latter of wisdom or decomposition, which is the characteristic of the English mind, directing it ever to utility ; whereas a vivacious perception, the characteristic of the foreign mind, amuses itself with futility and sophistry, and its restless activity is mistaken for a semblance of wisdom.

all relations of predicament ; and to look forward to analogous consequences. This primary quality of manhood enables man to seize upon that civil, political, and domestic predicament, which no law or doctrine can ascertain, and whose criterion is Good Sense, alone the characteristic of Britons, and the code of their Constitution.

O Britons ! guard this sacred deposit, which Nature has intrusted to your peculiar care, to be the seed of capability, engendering the perfectability of all existence. Plebeians, lend all your industry—Merchants, all your art—Citizens, all your loyalty—Soldiers, all your valour—Magistrates, all your wisdom, to support the British Constitution as the ark of Salvation, in the menaced deluge of Universal Anarchy !

Let

Let not your efforts be discouraged by the apprehension of expence. Preserve but your Constitution and your Industry, and all disbursements of treasure, like exhaled vapours by the sun, must return again through the rivers to the ocean. But should the soil of Anarchy, like sand, have absorbed them, Good Sense will enable your insulated ocean to undulate in its own contracted and peaceful limits.

O thoughtless Democrats! moral Aliens of the British temperament! Anarchy is preparing its horrors to drive you back to naturalization, and to teach you and all mankind these important lessons, That Universal Representation can take place in no Society, without destroying the first principle of all Polity, the security of industry; for the majority of numbers, without property, will never submit to labour for wit, virtue, and wisdom, unless coerced

erced by power—That Civil Power can be efficient and permanent only, when formed by concentrated property—That Truth and Liberty are the great source of all Good, but that their progress, or retrogress, depends on the modification of their promulgation and execution.

I exhort the Ministers of this Country to make no offensive assault upon any part of the French territory, but to confine all their efforts to great maritime success and an obstinate defensive system by land, that the spring of French Despotism, like that of a watch, may relax itself in proportion to the area of its confinement, and exhaust itself in internal Anarchy, which effects have been already manifested by the latest occurrences of that Country, in both the Civil and Military Department, whose anarchy of power has engendered such an anarchy of opinion,
that

that no man can exist in that devoted country, but the fool who has no system, and the scoundrel who has no principle.

I exhort the Sovereign to unsheath the sword of Civil Power, to use it with awful rigour, and to throw away the scabbard, till the horrors of Anarchy shall make Democracy itself fly to the throne for shelter. I conjure him to cultivate the British virtue of Generosity, that property, like blood, may give health to the body by the quickness and freedom of its circulation. Let not Avarice put a ligature upon the great artery, to check the energy of Industry and Generosity, the euchrasis of the British Empire.

I exhort the Princes and Nobles to the exercise of integrity and honour, that loyalty may not be scandalized and seduced by the sophistry of demagogues,
who

who expose the vices of the Court, to extol Plebeian Virtue. But the Philosopher knows that the vicious mind increases in atrocity, in proportion to the gradation of rank and education; that the dissimulating Noble would be a plebeian perjurer; the titled Calumniator would be a plebeian suborned witness; that a pensioned Member of Parliament would be a plebeian pick-pocket. This observation must be true, if shame has any influence on man; and if a gentleman, who must stake his life as a pledge for his character, is more under that influence than the plebeian who assaults his fellow with the vilest reproaches, and both parties cease the warfare, only by hoarseness depriving them of the power of speech, or the punishment of a few innocuous blows.

I conjure all ranks and descriptions of Britons to unite with heart and hand in

in this cordial animating sentiment—That as they are members of the most healthy and perfect body politic in the world, they should avoid *the quarrel of the fable*, and by continuing in harmony their several and unequal functions, the capability of manhood may be led on, through the gradation of revolving ages, to the progress of perfectability in the knowledge and practice of the unity of Self and Nature.

I am the tenant of Eternity, and I will dictate to the mere tenant of Time, who would rack the soil, and by precipitation of predicament, recoil the progress of perfectability. I expect for ever to participate in the good or evil I promote. I am therefore most sacredly qualified to measure their progress, and dictate their means. The man who expects to escape out of Nature from cause effect, by the postern gate of death, has no privilege but instruction and submission.

I exhort

I exhort the Clergy of the Church of England, as temporizing Philosophers, [holding in leading-strings infant Reason] to preach to the people civic and moral virtue, and to illustrate their doctrines by their example. At this epocha of doubt, suspicion, and discontent, let them reason with intemperate and inflammatory writers, with the arguments of good sense, and not superstition ; or rather, let them be silent, and execute their functions, by giving aid and instruction to their poor parishioners, whose happiness will be the best reply to all insidious censure.

I exhort British Soldiers to regard themselves as the glorious defenders of the defence of Nature, the British Empire. Let no tumults or riots, however benevolent the pretext, seduce you from the rigour of your duty ; it is in these torrents of popular uproar that the treacherous

P 2

enemies

enemies of England place all their hopes. You form the base of the social pyramid Power; on this stands Law, on Law stands Property, and on Property is placed the vertical stone of Society. Should you, like the fools of France, lay down your arms, and surrender to the mob, the social fabric must fall; and yet so great are my hopes in the moral excellence of the British yeomanry, that I think their virtue and good sense would triumph over every disaster to restore the British Constitution, *if it were possible* that British Soldiers could be corrupted to betray it.

I exhort Reformers of every description, religious or political, to look into the circle of their acquaintances and fraternities, and reflect upon the discord of sentiment and opinion of individuals, which produces the most extravagant moral phenomenon—the increase of repulsion

sion in the ratio of approximation. From my own experience, I am certain, that were a dissolution of system to take place, the nearest in opinion would become the most hostile in action; and nothing prevents such a moral chaos from arriving, but the factitious system of Law and Constitution, not the best absolute, but the best possible, adapted to human ignorance and human depravity.

I exhort the plebean class of the community to take notice, that in all riots and tumults, began in resentment, but conducted by internal factions or foreign emissaries, Industry must be the first victim of all civil commotions; a few desperate men may fill their pockets, but servants and labourers, of all denominations, must lose their employ; shops must be shut, and all arts and commerce must cease. Upon the impulse of any great
public

public injury, the anger of the day may be justified; but the man who seeks to renew it on the morrow, or to change its object, is the enemy of the Poor, the enemy of England, and the enemy of Nature.

I exhort all men of property to become the guardians and coadjutors of their poor fellow citizens. When taxes are called for, let Members of Parliament give up their privilege of franking, and let riches every where press forward to support the burthen of the State, and relieve the weak shoulders of Poverty and Industry; and let Influence, converging from every part of the country, procure Addresses to Parliament to fix the maximum of Tythes in Money; and force all men of independent property to form in every county an annual Committee of Guardians for the Poor, to inspect Workhouses, Parish aid, and the pay of labour;

to

to serve such office, by rotation, without pay; and such service to be a necessary qualification for all Members of Parliament. This is all the reform I recommend at present to Great Britain, and admonish all speculators, that in the present state of human ignorance, individual and national competition, all higher or progressive systems of reform must be left to Sects or Colonies.

While I call thus vehemently upon the great body of the People, for their confidence in Civil Power, I call upon the Ministers of that Power, and the rich it protects, to manifest their patriotism by some signal act of disinterestedness, as a voluntary donation, according to their property or pensions. Such a splendid act of public virtue would do more to annihilate the destructive spirit of Jacobinism than all the arguments of Genius, or all the Terrors of Law.

CONCLUSION.

I SHALL employ the vacancy of my pages, to give a short reply to the Reviewers. They speak of my arrival at the Temple of Fame, [*pedibus non artibus*] and reason from their own feelings of vanity. I seek no temple but that of Universal Truth and Good. They observe, my stile, manner, and diction, preclude me from the title of Author, (they mean Writer.) To such I never made pretension ; but I claim that of Author, because my sentiments and arguments are all my own. If these Critics would confine themselves to the province of knowledge and letters, I should respect them ; but when they assume the ideas and province of wisdom, they excite my pity.

'Tis not for *science*, moral truth to scan,
But *wisdom, wisdom*, faith, guide, life of man !

I have

I have but one object in all the public efforts of my mind, and zealous propensities of my heart, which is, to sow the seeds of the momentous truths I have discovered in the soil of the mind. I expect no pullulation, no plant, no fruit, in my present identity; but I desire ardently, and shall labour earnestly, to implant them deeply in the soil of intellect, that they may risk no contingencies [in time] of destruction, to be rooted out by the swine of passion or prejudice, to be devoured by the literary insects, Reviewers, and other envious or ignorant critics. I conjure those readers who may know how to estimate their value, and to feel their interest, to communicate them to all strong, reflective, dispassionate understandings, and to conceal them from the ignorant, the passionate, and irreflective. I tremble, like Copernicus, alarmed and rejoiced, alternately, at the consequences of my own

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discoveries ; and am consoled by the efforts of criticism, which will tend only to form a smoaked lens for the feeble optics of the awakening mind to gaze upon meridian truth.



APPEN-

APPENDIX.

FRANCE.—SEE PAGE 19.

IN this devoted country, the anarchy of power has at length produced an anarchy of principle. They call for a government of expediency or vigour, as the only one capable to defend them from their invincible egotism ; and their total want of confidence and virtue so confound their intellect, that they demand a most monstrous absurdity, a Revolutionary Government to be founded on Constitutional Laws. The overthrow of the late despotism has produced so total a relaxation in every department of power, that another bloody revolution must be expected to end in a more bloody despotism, and this again to operate a more bloody anarchy, till the great mass, broken into contending departments, shall implore the protection of neighbouring powers to save them from extirpation.

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ON JURIES.—PAGE, 91.

The proposition on Juries will not be relished by the generality of my Readers ; but if the paltry consideration of finance has been able to dispose Englishmen to cede the sacred right of Jury, none but a fool or a traitor could obstinately demand the exercise of that privilege, while it presented the only access by which internal and external enemies could assault the British Constitution, or annihilate social life.

When Mr. Fox's Jury Bill was passed, I joined [not without apprehension] in the general joy ; but the present imminent popular anarchy has brought me to a mournful state of resipiscence. I look upon the constituted

stituted authorities of this country to be a body of factitious citizens, whose appointments and pay identifying public and private interest, discipline their body to oppose the egotism of Individual Will, ever hostile to the Public Will. The Judges, expounders of the law, warped it ever to the defence of the Constitution; but one single jurymen, in the present democratic administration of law, holds the key-stone of the constitutional arch, which Ignorance, Faction, or Treachery, may dispose him to remove; and one plebeian individual has in his power the social existence of ten millions.

The spirit of a Jurymen's oath indicated the right of the office. No man can swear to judge of law which he never was acquainted with; the fact alone could be intended for the province of his judgment; and law, the defence of social existence, must be exercised by judges [factitious citizens] till Wisdom and Virtue shall have produced natural ones. This democratic gift of Mr. Fox may be added to the list of Regency, East India Company, and Impeachment Bills, to augment the burthen of public obligation, till patriotic sensibility, oppressed with gratitude, may demand him to take back his insidious or ignorant boon.

The British Constitution is vulnerable only on the side of Democracy. An ignorant or obstinate Jurymen may inundate the country with seditious opinion, and produce general rebellion. The Crown can obtain only a verdict [supposing influence to operate] against a single individual. The Jury-Bill has broken the Mail of Law; and I tremble, when I see the Constitution attacked by Jacobine Enemies.

F I N I S.



v.